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# WHAT PRICE ALLIANCES?

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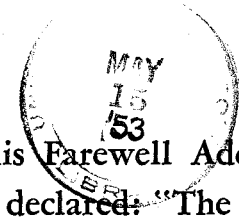


AMERICA has come a long way since George Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned against "the insidious wiles of foreign influence" and declared: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible."

There is hardly any place in the globe today where a serious Soviet military aggressive move might not involve the United States in war. And in many cases our action is almost predetermined by the presence of troops and the existence of binding treaty arrangements. Under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization we are bound to come to the aid of every country around the perimeter of the European Continent, from Norway to Turkey. We are committed to the defense of Germany, both by a special promise to the Bonn Government and by the presence of our troops in West Germany and West Berlin.

We are engaged in mutual security pacts in the Far East with Japan, Australia and New Zealand. There are a few countries in the borderline zone; there are no formal commitments to defend Yugoslavia or Iran, for instance. And there is still a question mark as to what, if anything, would happen if the Chinese Reds should send a large army into Indo-China. But, after the Korean experience, there can be no certainty that America would not intervene actively in the event of any big Communist military move on the world chessboard.

It is easier to criticize in general terms these far-reaching overseas commitments than it is to suggest an alternative consistent with American national security. The Second World War left two powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in a position of overwhelmingly predominant power in terms of military strength, manpower, territory and resources. The Soviet Union, as anyone with a reasonable knowledge of its past record and the philosophy of its ruling group would have expected, proved incurably aggressive and expansionist and quite impossible to appease.

There can be little doubt that, if the United States, after a belated awakening from Roosevelt's disastrous dream of happy coexistence with Stalin, had not thrown its strength into the balance, Europe and Asia would have been swallowed piecemeal by the Soviet empire, as Eastern Europe, China and North Korea have already been swallowed.

And every new country swallowed by Communism means more cannon fodder, more economic resources for what is already a formidable military machine. It is less expensive

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and less disruptive of the American way of life to fight a distant border war in Korea than it would be to adopt the garrison state preparedness program which national safety would demand if all East Asia, including Japan, were organized against us by the Kremlin. It is less of a risk to keep the American flag flying in West Germany and West Berlin than it would be to allow the Ruhr and German potential military manpower to fall into the hands of the Soviet empire, which already recalls that of Genghiz Khan, in the extent of its territory and the savagery of its methods.

THERE IS NOTHING objectionable in the principle of an alliance with a foreign nation or nations, provided that there is reasonable equality of risk and sacrifice. The United States may owe its independence to the alliance which Benjamin Franklin was shrewd enough to negotiate with France at a critical moment in the Revolutionary War. (What France got out of this alliance is not so clear.)

The Truman-Acheson team should not be blamed and has not been generally blamed for trying to build up resistance to Soviet expansion by creating alliances in Europe and Asia. Some of the strongest anti-Communist measures were ratified by the Congress, Republican in both Houses, which was elected in 1946. The North Atlantic Pact was approved by a large majority of Republican as well as Democratic votes. There was almost no opposition to the treaty with Japan, and the accompanying security pact, or to the security pacts with Australia and New Zealand.

Where there is ground for criticism is in the way in which our alliances have functioned. Much of the angry frustration about the situation in Korea is due to a justified sense that America has been let down by the United Nations as an organization and by its individual members, who have an equal interest with the United States in preventing Communism from overrunning Asia. What has been going on in Korea is a UN war, but an American (and South Korean) fight.

There is also a strong suggestion of our being taken for a ride in the limping pace of the European defense effort. The United States has put its chips into the pot: billions of dollars appropriated for military aid and six divisions of ground troops and a substantial air force deployed for the defense of Europe. There has not been a comparable effort on the part of European members of NATO. Most serious is the failure, after more than two years of talk and paper projects, to put a single West German in military uniform.

THERE IS AN almost grotesque paradox in the Korean situation. In theory the major war effort which the United States has put forth in that area has been the fulfillment of an obligation under the UN Charter. Congress only indirectly authorized this war ef-

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fort and never voted the declaration of war, which would have made easier such desirable measures as the imposition of a strict naval blockade of the China coast.

On the contrary, the United Nations as an organization and the principal UN states have done everything in their power to prevent this war from being brought to a victorious and satisfactory conclusion. It was a protracted tooth-pulling operation to induce the UN to pass a resolution designating Red China as an aggressor — months after large Chinese armies had crossed the frontier into Korea and were doing their best to wipe out what was theoretically a UN army.

It has proved impossible either to obtain reasonable troop contributions from the UN members or participation in sanctions that would really hurt the Red Chinese war effort, such as a blockade of the China coast or a flat embargo on all trade with China. UN members, of which Great Britain is the most important, which have recognized the Red Chinese regime have not broken off relations, despite the fact that the Mao Tse-tung regime has been at war with the United Nations for more than two years.

Considered as an experiment in collective security, the Korean war has been a dismal flop. This is what most realistic observers of international affairs have long predicted, in the event that there was ever an effort to put this fetich slogan into practice.

Patriotic Americans (not including, of course, the amazing number of Americans with subversive records who sneaked into UN employment) who had the thankless task of trying to obtain more cooperation from the UN in what was supposed to be a common struggle against aggression, make no secret of their disgust and disillusionment when they talk off the record. One such American got so fed up with the continual stalling of Prime Minister Nehru of India that he drew up a memorandum for Nehru's consideration, which, on mature reflection, he tore up unsent. The central idea of the memorandum was that Nehru should do one of two things: frankly urge America to get out of Korea and abandon all resistance to Red Chinese expansion or quit his backseat driving and send some Indian troops to take part in the war.

It is bad enough that no UN member state has made an effort in Korea comparable with that of the United States, in proportion to population and resources. (An exception to this criticism should be made for France, which has been bearing the burden of a prolonged and severe war in Indo-China.)

What is worse (and what, one hopes, the new Administration will find intolerable) is that governments which have made small contributions or, in some cases, no contributions at all to the military effort, should use diplomatic pressure to prevent the United States from taking the military and political measures which offered the best prospect of inflicting

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enough damage on Red China to compel its rulers to call off the war. (It should be evident by this time that this is the only means likely to achieve this end. India's supposed influence in Peiping is a fiction, as the fate of the very questionable Indian resolution on the disposition of prisoners of war at the hands of Vishinsky and Chou En-lai shows.)

Among these measures are blockade of the China coast, bombing of strategic targets in Manchuria and China Proper and vigorous utilization of the Chinese nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek for raids, and, if possible, landings on the China coast. It is little short of ridiculous when support of Chiang Kai-shek, who commands the largest anti-Communist army in Asia, with the possible exception of the South Koreans, should be rejected for fear this might displease India or Indonesia or Burma — countries which have not put a man into the fighting line.

THE SUPREMELY important fact to remember about Europe is that ground defense, without a substantial German contribution, is almost certainly impossible. French and Germans, like other Europeans, very reasonably maintain that they want to be defended, not "liberated" — after years of bombing and Communist terrorist occupation have left very little to liberate.

But most unreasonably, and in contrast to the Greeks, Turks and Yugoslavs (who are showing a gratifying tendency to bury old hatchets and stand together against the overshadowing peril from the East), French and Germans are still not in agreement about a European defense scheme in which both countries will participate to the limit of their capacity. Time is running out and a strong American push, reinforced by the suggestion that America can, if necessary, cut down its troops on the continent to token size and go over to a strategy of peripheral defense, is needed.

It is high time to get out of the psychological dream world in which some Europeans imagine that they are doing the United States a unilateral favor by preparing, with American help, for their own defense. There will always be an America, even though its defense problems would be heavily aggravated and complicated by the fall of Europe. But there is no assurance that there will always be a Europe if Europeans fold their hands and get involved in all sorts of parochial bickerings over minor issues when their civilization faces the greatest threat since the hordes of Genghiz Khan appeared in the Thirteenth Century.

The fundamental failure of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy (and many Americans sensed this without directly analyzing it) was that America's global commitments were not balanced by an equivalent effort and sacrifice on the part of the nations which benefited from these commitments. The historical reputation of Eisenhower and Dulles will largely depend on their ability to correct this failure.

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# HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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**Bricker Amendment:** The successful passage of an amendment to the Constitution to protect the average American from being hailed into an alien, international court may turn out to depend decisively on how the embattled citizens of one state act in the next few weeks. We refer to Wisconsin.

That state, traditionally of high civic consciousness, reportedly is leaning heavily towards support of the Bricker amendment. The Bricker measure is sponsored by the junior Senator from the state of Ohio and is designed to insure that treaties and international agreements will not encroach on the protections which our Constitution gives the citizen. The bill is soon to be presented to the body of the Senate for debate and vote.

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Now the reason why Wisconsin may well play a decisive role is that the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is Senator Alexander Wylie, Republican, of that state. If Wylie comes out for the Bricker measure, he may — by the influence of his key position — swing quite a number of votes. Since it requires a two-thirds vote by the Senate or 64 to insure passage — it is obvious that every vote counts.

We have seen various analyses of the way the Senators stand so far and it all boils down to this: some 58 votes are regarded as certain for the amendment. Six more must be assured, for passage. About a dozen Senators are listed as "doubtful". And one of these is Wylie.

But that Senator is regarded by newspapermen covering Capitol Hill as "on the spot". Over a year ago, Wylie, who previously had been classified as a "nationalist" and the opponent of internationalism in all forms, turned a somersault. Almost overnight he became an apologist for Acheson and the various Truman-Acheson policies. He became, also, the target of what is called "Midwest isolationism", as it exists in the state of Wisconsin. The Senator is not unaware of this swelling criticism from home, and it is noticeable that he has been making a number of visits to Wisconsin, presumably to "mend fences". If he adheres to his present policy and opposes the Bricker amendment (about which he so far remains "on the fence"), then he may fail of renomination in 1954, when his term expires.

The fact is that Wisconsin is not unique in its favorable attitude toward the amendment. So many patriotic groups (for instance, the DAR) have shown signs of campaigning militantly for the measure that other Senators (now listed as "doubtful") may feel no little pressure from home. These doubtful ones include the following: Bridges (New Hampshire); Carlson (Kansas); Millikin (Colorado); Thye (Minnesota); Knowland (California); Purtell (Connecticut); Duff (Pennsylvania). All these are Republicans. There are several Democrats listed as "doubtful" who may also hear from home: George (Georgia); Long (Louisiana); Gillette (Iowa).

It is noted that Democratic Senator Pat McCarran (Nevada) is for the Bricker amendment and is doing penance for his original vote for the United Nations Charter. He has said recently: "I made an error which I shall regret all the days of my life."

No wonder that Clarence Manion, former Dean of the Notre Dame Law School and Professor of International Law, has testified that this is the "hottest issue" in the minds and hearts of the people of the country since the Civil War.

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**Korea:** A vast pall of tactfulness has covered the attitudes and utterances of public men and "opinion formers" for the past few weeks — on the subject of Korea and our foreign policy. But beneath it, many are saying things far from reassuring about what our new Administration has been doing since the epochal death of Stalin.

What is heard in GOP cloakrooms on the Hill and over tables whenever observers gather, is this: the State Department has missed the boat on the shift of regimes in Soviet Russia and "this is where we came in" — meaning we are back to just where we were before the modern Genghis Khan died. There are many arguments as to what we should or should not have done. But there is general agreement that in any case we are knee-deep in the same old quagmire of futile negotiations which marked the regime of Truman and Acheson.

The President's speech of three weeks ago — it is felt — has fallen flat. It may have had a few days of beneficial effect in foreign capitals, but that soon dissipated. The posture of Eisenhower during the negotiations about the sick and wounded POWs was scarcely what might be called virile and vigorous. The only way, it is asserted, to bargain ourselves out of the mess in Korea and into some kind of peace is to talk "tough" and to threaten tough action; no other language wins chips in the poker game with our adversary.

Members of Congress who have visited their constituencies during Easter and subsequent weekends say that the 40 to 1 ratio of exchange of sick POWs did not set well, nor did Ike's soft reaction to the stories of atrocities inspire any admiration. Rejoicing over the return of a handful of captive GIs has not offset the pitiful anguish of many relatives who fear their boys, supposedly POWs in enemy hands, are really dead. It's not a happy picture, particularly since the public has a sense that we face "more of the same".

While most public men keep silent on these matters, one has just made a speech which voices a great reservoir of concern, all the more so in view of his political position. Representative Carroll Reece (R., Tenn.) in the past twenty-four hours made a blistering attack on the strategy of our diplomacy and military policy. Reece from 1946 to 1948 was Chairman of the Republican National Committee and is said to be representative of much opinion in the Taft wing of the GOP. Concerning the recent Communist invasion of Laos, a part of Indochina, Reece said the following:

"We are now confronted with another accomplished conquest and this time we are further embarrassed because we have publicly warned the Communists they must not do the thing they have done. This invasion of Indochina is the most damaging event that has occurred since the conquest of China itself. The conquest of all Korea would have been of minor importance by comparison. In Korea we are holding just the end of a peninsula that leads nowhere. In Indochina we are losing the gateway to a vast, rich area sometimes called the rice bowl of the Orient. . . . It is far more important for the Red Chinese to capture Southeast Asia than for them to capture Korea and far more damaging to us if they do so." Reece attacks our Joint Chiefs of Staff for being dominated by the "infantry strategy" and for not backing the "air strategy", and quotes extensively from the book *Wings for Peace* by General Bonner Fellers.

**Not Merely Gossip:** National GOP Chairman Leonard Hall (just installed in his post) took the job after obtaining a valuable secret agreement with President Eisenhower, according to well-informed sources in the Party. Ike approved Hall for the position, but the latter finally accepted only after he had gotten what he considered the essential condition from Ike's lips — that Hall would have direct and confidential access to the President without asking Governor ("Assistant President") Sherman Adams for permission to have an appointment. Adams has kept Ike pretty well bottled up from any visitors of whom he — Adams — does not approve. Congressional leaders do see the President once a week at the regular White House conference, but few ever see him otherwise, unless Adams gives clearance. The situation has been thorny for some time and Hall apparently has broken the Adams "iron curtain".

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● General George C. Marshall who — many thought — had retired completely from public affairs, has reportedly again entered, secretly and confidentially, into the China situation which he did so much to create. It is further reported that the General has not changed his ideas about China, nor acknowledged that his policy was unsound.

● Our cape-and-sword group, the Central Intelligence Agency (unfairly called the American MVD) is having its troubles in France, according to our correspondents in Paris. The latter say that the CIA for some time has been subsidizing certain French newspapers of a socialist complexion, that conservative newspapers are wrathy because they have gotten no subsidies. On last November 19, we described in HUMAN EVENTS the CIA strategy under the title of "Operation Marx", the strategy of favoring socialist or collectivist governments and parties in Western Europe. We gather that word of the extraordinary practice of American capitalism bankrolling European Marxism has gotten around the French capital. What will happen when it gets around Capitol Hill — perhaps just as the Central Intelligence Agency ascends the Hill to ask for appropriations — is another matter.

**Book Event:** If you are a publisher and want to get into the *New York Times* book section a review of a book which the *Times* will not review, take a look at the *Times* for last Sunday. There you will see an advertisement (inserted by the Henry Regnery Company) which contains part of a review of Norbert Muhlen's *The Return of Germany* (reviewed favorably in HUMAN EVENTS on March 11 by William Henry Chamberlin). The review in the advertisement is by Dr. William Ernest Hocking, distinguished philosopher long on the faculty of Harvard, and among other laudatory remarks he says that the book is "top rank". The Muhlen book was published two months ago, and the *Times* has not reviewed it, although it has found space, during this period, to review two books on Germany which were anti-German. The Muhlen book was sympathetic to Germany.

This is not the first time that a book publisher has had to resort to this method of getting one of his books to the attention of the public. (It should not be forgotten that the *Times, New York Herald-Tribune* Book section and the *Saturday Review of Literature* are carefully read not only by the general public but especially by the book-selling trade.) In 1948, the Devin-Adair Company issued John T. Flynn's *The Roosevelt Myth.* The publisher got wind of the fact that the *Herald-Tribune* book editors had decided not to review the book. He therefore took a review of the book written by John Chamberlain (which appeared on September 22, 1948, in HUMAN EVENTS) and ran it as an advertisement in the *Herald-Tribune.* Later, the *Herald-Tribune* relented and ran a review of its own. The Flynn book has since sold in the hundreds of thousands and stands as a classic in the field of revisionist history.

The question — what's wrong with the big book review publications — came to the fore last week. The Jenner Subcommittee, on May 1, interrogated Mr. Edward J. Fitzgerald who refused to answer questions on the ground that it might incriminate him if he did so, when asked if he had been a member of the Communist Party, etc. But Mr. Fitzgerald did admit that he has been reviewing books for the past few years. Thereupon, Mr. Benjamin Mandel of the Jenner Subcommittee staff brought out that Mr. Fitzgerald had reviewed 53 books for the *Saturday Review of Literature,* about 38 for the *New York Herald-Tribune* and 6 for the *New York Times.*

**Social Security:** A hair-pulling contest has regaled the Capital this past week. On April 13, the Marshall (Texas) housewives, now engaged in a legal battle as a result of their refusal to pay money withheld from domestic servants, wrote a letter to Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, new Secretary of Health and Welfare. In it, they recalled that Mrs. Hobby's paper, *The Houston Post,* two years ago had defended the rebellious ladies in their fight with the U.S. Treasury about this matter. The housewives thanked Mrs. Hobby for this and — now that she has just been installed in a high position dealing with Social Security — asked her cooperation in their battle.

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An alert columnist, John O'Donnell of the *New York Daily News*, got wind of the correspondence and queried Mrs. Hobby at her first press conference. Madame Secretary, however, repudiated the editorial in her paper, saying that she was out of town at the time it was run and that had she been in her office she would not have allowed it to appear. The Marshall ladies, none discouraged, fired back at Mrs. Hobby, reminding her that the law as it now stands protects the constitutional rights neither of housewives who are required to pay withholding wages, nor of the servants whose wages are withheld whether they consent to the transaction or not.

**Sign of the Times:** On page A2448 of the *Congressional Record* (May 1), Rep. Thomas A. Jenkins (R., Ohio) entered an "extension of remarks" headed "To GOP, Get Going". This is the title of an editorial in the *Athens* (Ohio) *Messenger*, the publisher of which is described as a "staunch Republican". The editorial, as it appears in the *Congressional Record*, begins as follows:

"The people voted the Republican Party into power to do four things, mainly:

1. Reduce income taxes.
2. Do something concrete about Korea.
3. Stop wasteful spending and therefore stop inflation.
4. Clean up the State Department and improve our foreign relations.

To date, after about 100 days, the reform Government actually has accomplished nothing along these lines. True, it has started to stop wasteful spending, and claims to have brought inflation to a halt. That much might be granted, but it was obvious, and what little has been done was easy to do."

**A Dollar Gets You Ten Cents:** *The Tax Review* (April), organ of the Tax Foundation, reports that in 1951 the federal government's grants-in-aid to states and cities totaled $2,200,000,000. In 1931, the amount was slightly over $184,500,000. Mr. Herbert J. Miller, the author of the report, who rues this increase as evidence of the increasing importance of the federal government and the corollary decrease of the self-reliance of the subdivisions, might have carried his story further. Shortly after the introduction of federal income taxes, in 1913, seven states in the Union paid in more to the U.S. Treasury than they got back in grants-in-aid; the other forty-one states made a "profit" on income taxation. Today, every State in the Union pays in more than it gets back. In 1949, the state of Mississippi got back 88c for every dollar of income taxes taken from Mississippians; Delaware got back ten cents on the dollar.

**Discovery:** Michael L. Hoffman, in a story from Geneva, Switzerland, to the *New York Times*, says "there is a pronounced wave of mourning for the demise of the private saver" in Britain, West Germany and France. Somehow, this fellow, who was much berated by Lord Keynes and his followers as the cause of the depression, is now sorely missed in these industrial countries. His death — caused by "fair shares", "full employment" and other "social objectives" — has brought home to the economists the fact that without the private saver capital accumulations disappear, to such an extent that there is not enough to keep the productive machinery of the nation going, let alone to permit expansion. This is so despite the "forced savings" device of the French and German governments; "forced savings" is what we in this country call aid to industry in the form of government loans.

"In all three countries", writes Hoffman, "almost the only significant form of private savings nowadays is that done by companies that do not pay out the profits they earn but plow them back into plant and equipment. However, this means that only going concerns can develop, while it is the vital new ventures, which keep an economy lively and competitive, that cannot get the money."

The economists are at long last discovering the fact "that it is much easier to destroy the machinery by which an economy provides for its future than to repair it or build it anew".

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